

Message Text

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: ADDED NOTES ON RICHARD'S JANUARY 10 TALK WITH KAUNDA

1. ON REVIEWING MY NOTES I FIND THERE ARE SOME COMMENTS WHICH MAY USEFULLY SUPPLEMENT ACCOUNT SUBMITTED IN LUSAKA 0063. RICHARD AND MANSFIELD BOTH REMARKED ON DEGREE TO WHICH KAUNDA SEEMED TO BE STUNG BY RICHARD'S ACCUSATION THAT FRONTLINE STATES HAD SENT TWO HEAVY TORPEDOS HIS WAY. KAUNDA'S RESPONSE WAS THAT WEST AND BRITIAN HAD LET HIM DOWN, THAT THE UK WAS NEVER SERIOUS ABOUT SANCTIONS, AND THAT IT WAS THE DECEIT OF THE WEST THAT HAD KEPT SMITH IN POWER OVER PAST ELEVEN YEARS. REFERRING TO RICHARD'S SUGGESTION THAT HE MIGHT HAVE TO CONSIDER WHETHER HE SHOULD CALL OFF HIS MISSION AND RETURN TO LONDON (WHICH RICHARD TOLD ME HE SAID FOR EFFECT ONLY AND DID NOT INTEND TO DO), KAUNDA COMPLAINED THAT RICHARD WAS THREATENING HIM AND SAID HE FOUND IT "INSULTING TO BE THREATNED BY BRITIAN."

2. IN SIMILAR MOOD, DURING DISCUSSION IN WHICH KAUNDA ASKED IF BRITIAN'S POINT ABOUT ENDING THE WAR WAS NOT MADE CLEAR IN THE FRONTLINE COMMUNIQUE, KAUNDA ASSERTED THAT THE FRONTLINE STATES AND NATIONALISTS HAD BEEN

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TRICKED ONCE BY VORSTER INTO A CEASEFIRE WHILE NEGOTIATIONS WERE GOING ON. HE WENT ON, HOWEVER, TO SAY THAT THE COMMUNIQUE MEANT THAT WAR WOULD STOP WHEN AN AGREED INTERIM GOVERNMENT TOOK OVER. RICHARD HAD EXPLAINED THAT THIS WAS IMPORTANT IN WINNING VORSTER'S SUPPORT, BUT KAUNDA COULD NOT UNDERSTAND THE "IMPORTANCE OF MR. VORSTER," WHY EVERYTHING WAS SO DEPENDENT ON VORSTER, COMPLAINED

AGAIN THAT VORSTER HAD DECEIVED HIM BEFORE, AND SAID THAT SURELY BRITIAN COULD FIND A WAY TO DISLODGE SMITH WITHOUT VORSTER.

3. IN DISCUSSING FRONTLINE RECOGNITION OF PATRIOTIC FRONT (PF), KAUNDA WAS VITRIOLIC IN ATTACKING MUZEREWA; SAID MUZEREWA COULD NOT RUN THE COUNTRY, THAT BIG POPULAR RECEPTIONS DO NOT MAKE SUPPORT, AND THAT THE BISHOP COULD NOT HANDLE PROBLEMS OF LAW AND ORDER. HE MAINTAINED THAT THE PF WAS THE ONLY SERIOUS GROUP IN THE EXERCISE; THEY WERE THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE HAD EXPERIENCE IN CONTROLLING THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS. WHEN RICHARD COMMENTED THAT THE PF SEEMED TO HAVE REJECTED HIS PROPOSALS AND APPEARED UNABLE TO BUDGE FROM THEIR OWN, KAUNDA REPLIED THAT THE PF COULD NOT NEGOTIATE ON RICHARD'S PROPOSALS UNTIL THEY HAVE SOMETHING IN WRITING. RICHARD MADE IT CLEAR THAT BRITIAN WAS NOT PREPARED, AS THE PF SEEMED TO WANT, TO ACT ONLY AS A MONARCH GIVING CONSTITUTIONAL SANCTION TO ANYTHING THE NATIONALISTS WISHED TO DO.

4. COMMENT: RICHARD'S SESSIONS WITH KAUNDA AND THE PF WERE OBVIOUSLY NOT SATISFYING AND MAY BE THE REASON FOR THE MESSAGE THAT WAS SENT FROM CROSLAND FOR RICHARD TO GIVE NYERERE ON JANUARY 11. NYERERE, AS USUAL, HANDLED THE SITUATION WITH MORE FINESSE THAN KAUNDA AND CONTRIBUTED TO KEEPING THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS OPEN. RICHARD, BY QUOTING BOTH KAUNDA AND NYERERE TO THE PRESS, ACTED QUICKLY TO PROPAGATE THE TWO PRESIDENTS' REINTERPRETATION OF THE LUSAKA COMMUNIQUE. THE CRUX OF THE MATTER, ON THE AFRICAN SIDE, RESTS WITH THE PF, ESPECIALLY WHETHER THEY WILL SERIOUSLY CONSIDER THE BRITISH PROPOSALS OR CONTINUE THEIR STANCE OF REJECTING THEM. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THEY WILL GIVE RICHARD A RESPONSE IN MAPUTO ON JANUARY 16. THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO RECEIVE ANY WRITTEN PROPOSALS RICHARD HAS TO GIVE THEM WITH A PROMISE TO GIVE HIM A REACTION AFTER THEY HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO STUDY THEM CAREFULLY.

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